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Conwell, Russell Herman

The value of probation

[Philadelphia]

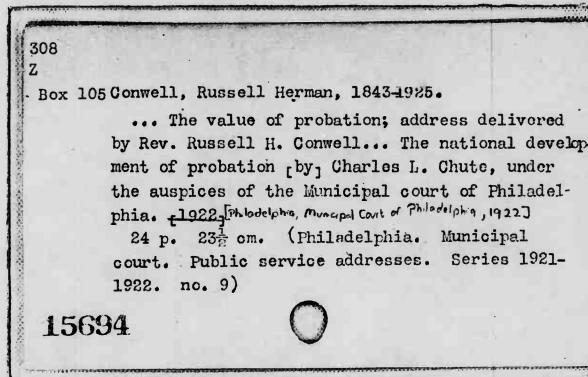
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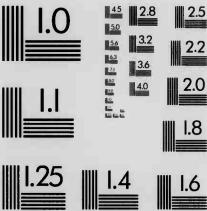
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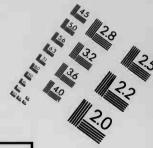
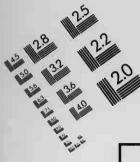
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No. 9

THE VALUE OF PROBATION

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

Rev. RUSSELL H. CONWELL, D. D.

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The National Development of Probation

CHARLES L. CHUTE

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UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA

Prob 105

*Gift of
Municipal Court of Philadelphia
4-10-22*

THE VALUE OF .: PROBATION .:

Address delivered by Rev. Russell
H. Conwell, D. D., under the
auspices of the Educational Depart-
ment of the Municipal Court, in
room 676, City Hall, Philadelphia,
Friday, December 23, 1921



Hon. Charles L. Brown, President of the National Probation Association and President Judge of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia:

This is a continuation of the course of public lectures to instruct those who are engaged in helping the poor and other people in distress in the City of Philadelphia, not only the probation officers in the Municipal Court, but also those who come here from other social agencies in the city. I think that you have been profited—I know I have—by the preceding addresses of men and women who have appeared here, and I know that you will be profited by what you hear to-day from a man who has lived very many years in the City of Philadelphia, although not born here, who has done a marvelous piece of work.

I recall when a boy visiting the church at Mervine and Berks Streets, called the Grace Baptist Church, when it was run down, and the present speaker of the day was called as the pastor of the church. They wondered whether he could build it up, and I well remember how he was received, and how that church started to grow immediately; how he put his hand upon the young boy and the young girl, gathered them in his study, as the beginning of a school of instruction, of helpfulness to young boys and girls for their future lives and for their usefulness to the community; then it grew so that it broke into a house adjoining on Mervine Street, and I remember going there and getting my instruction in Latin, Greek and German from able professors who gave their services voluntarily or with small compensation, to join in the work for which he was responsible. Now you know what it has grown to, the great

Temple University, that covers the ground from the church at Berks Street to Montgomery Avenue. It instructs at night pupils who work during the day, in order that they may be profited themselves and in their turn profit the community at large. Many a life has been saved and many a mind has been trained, of the young as well as those well along in life, in that school. Doctor Conwell was the man who started the Board of Education to open night schools in this City of Philadelphia.

It is a great pleasure to present to you to-day the Reverend Doctor of Divinity who has been so useful to so many thousands of people in God's kingdom, who will talk to you upon the Value of Probation—the Reverend Dr. Russell H. Conwell.

ADDRESS

Dr. Conwell: Mr. President and friends: I come to you weak from hard work and the effects of almost four score years, to talk to you in the freest and frankest manner concerning the church's relations to this movement and thus bring it under the title which has been given to me. I know that most of you here to-day are better acquainted with social service than I am. I know that the psychologists can treat that side of the subject as I cannot, and I know that these jurists, like the judges here, are better acquainted with the practical application of the law in court, and these probation officers and social visitors are better acquainted with the results of probation in our city than I am.

But when the invitation came, to come down and show by my presence an interest in a movement like this, I could not fail to do it, even though it was against the advice of the physician who kept me in bed all day until now. It is a very important question and perhaps one into which I may bring something of inspiration.

The work of the probation officer of the court is one of those strange outside movements which are driving into the church a degree of common sense and true religion. It is one of those altruistic undertakings which the church ought long ago to have initiated, but which now large-hearted and wise men and women are forcing upon the attention of the church. Instead of saying "the church," I will use the word "religion," because then there will be no sectarianism about it, and the former phrase to me smacks of the theologian. The probation movement is one of the most intensely interesting topics as well

as one of the most advantageous challenges. As a topic it brings up the great theories of our religion. While we may be divided into schools: at the beginning, some people think, Adam and Eve were created perfect as is said in the first chapter of Genesis; others believe that it was the outcome of evolution from the lower orders of animal life, while still others, a third class, believe that both of those theories are correct when properly combined. But I will not go back to that theory in our practical application of the subject. We can see, from what is all around us on every side, that man is progressing from a lower order of life to the higher orders of life. We also recognize the fact that there is evidently a design, a great Divine design in the upbuilding of humanity. As we glance forward, with the Prophets behind us and with the teachings of Christ behind us, we can see that the time is coming when on this earth there will be a perfect humanity, there will be no imperfection of body, no imperfection of mind, no imperfection of character or purpose of living. We are looking forward to that time. It is promised to us in the Scriptures, it is promised to us in nature. Your organization is recognizing that fact with singular emphasis.

We are striving to make humanity more perfect, and in that we are serving God. No matter what may be our sectarian connection, we are all agreed upon this—that the way to serve God is to serve humanity, and when Christ spoke to us as a Prophet of the Christian Church, he said that inasmuch as ye have done these things, these good things, to these brethren of mine, ye have done it unto Me, and he put that down as the test of the right to eternal life. He set it down. Who are these that shall be received in heaven and welcomed there? These who have visited the sick, these that have visited the poor, these that have gone to those in prison. All these I must not here recite, because it is too theoretical perhaps to waste your time upon now. You know it as well as I do.

All this teaches that the religious people of the world believe that the way to serve God is to serve mankind, and inasmuch as we have done something helpful to bring a man into a more perfect condition of living, mentally, physically and spiritually, we have served the Lord and shall receive from Him that commendation "Well done!"

Many people are in this movement who do not belong to any church. They may belong to the Jewish synagogue, or they may belong to some department of the Christian Church. But they are all looking forward with this same common purpose, to religiously build up mankind, womankind and children into a better and higher form of living. There are many agencies at work doing this. The college gives mental instruction, the churches give moral instruction, and the courts are supposed to prevent—hitherto they have been supposed to prevent—the injurious effects of bad influences upon mankind. The laws of the land have hitherto been almost altogether prohibitive, and the people of the church, or those of any religious feeling or knowledge, recognize the fact that you cannot make a man good by force. Probably the most temperate place in the world is Blackwell's Island in New York, where there are very many that would drink if they could, but cannot drink because they are behind stone walls. No man can claim to be a temperance man if he is simply so by force. If a man cannot commit a crime and would do it if he could, it is a fair judgment, and common sense to say that he is a bad man anyhow, has a bad heart. And yet it is necessary to have prohibitive law. It is necessary I think, to prohibit the establishment of saloons that would teach or instruct the young in ways of wickedness that would degrade humanity. I think it is a prohibitive thing that the law ought to do for the sake of avoiding the instruction that tends downward. But the prohibiting of drinking, and we all recognize the fact, does not make a temperance man any more than prohibiting swearing would make him

a prayerful man. The prohibition does not change the heart, only it is necessary to prevent the injurious influences that would come in. It is simply, as the Christian looks upon it, a preventive law. The law does not reform anybody. The law does not lift anyone up—but has rather, thrown him down; and the history of our country shows that we have been hindered from great progress in our Christian civilization by the instruction which lesser criminals have obtained from greater criminals in the prisons and in the jails. The whole tendency of it hitherto, before this probation movement began, has been to degrade humanity. It has been used to protect the humanity that was outside. If a man or a woman may be so bad as to sow diseases of blindness and wickedness all the time, the law comes in and takes that man or woman out of society in order to protect the innocents upon whom he would throw a deleterious influence. But when it takes that man out, it has hitherto thought that that was the goal of its duty—to get that man out of society just as soon as it can. It is necessary to do that sometimes for the protection of society. We must not try to save one at the expense of a hundred, so we have taken him out of society or sent him to the electric chair. Therefore, the common sense of the world has aroused itself, as this movement distinctly shows. It has come to see that these criminals, these people that do wrong, should also be built up in their humanity, that their physical system should be made more healthful, that their minds should be made more clear, that their standards of morality should be raised, and that their hopes of religion or of eternal life shall be increased, in order that that portion of society may be saved with the rest. While by law we protect the rest, the probation movement comes in, working with the law, under the law, and tries to save even this section which we have regarded as the enemy of society and hence had to put out of contact or out of existence immediately. Therefore, our religion combines with this movement

in the closest way. There isn't one of you that goes out to visit the poor and sick and needy for the purpose of helping them physically, mentally and morally, but what is serving God, and serving God along side of myself, though I am in the church and you may not be. The great standard of living is to live for our fellowmen, to put out our hand to the weak, lift up the fallen, instruct the ignorant, heal the sick and preach the gospel of the Kingdom, and anyone who does that is doing the work of the Lord. Therefore, I say that to-day you have reached a point in the history of this association when your appeal should be made very strongly to the churches. Every religious body, if it stops to think of its fundamental beliefs and of its hopes of eternal life being founded on the service of humanity, will at once heed that appeal to work with you, because it is their work. It is essentially the religious work of the country or of the people. I feel it so or I would not have accepted the invitation to come here in my busy life of to-day. This movement, which has been inaugurated in Philadelphia, of which we are all proud, has accomplished great things.

But while we are working on, working with an obstinate and slow city like this, we need to have the whole country realize, we need to have the whole public see that these criminals are many of them accidental, or if not accidental, perhaps the result of training, early training, and that they can return. You well know that. I need not discuss that. They can return. I am satisfied of that. You have seen it in your experience, and I know it by theory, and am preaching it from the pulpit continually, that mankind is to be raised up by these influences; and that "the worst sinner can return" is the faith of many of our orthodox Christian denominations. "While the lamp holds out to burn, the vilest sinner may return" and this probation movement has accepted that theory and throws it back upon us. We who are in various religious organizations have not realized what was the great opportunity to carry

on the work of the Lord. To us the probation movement is peculiarly the work of the Lord. You cannot read of Christ visiting the sick and going around doing good without realizing the fact that that is the essential foundation of religious service. Therefore, I commend to you this practical thought, that in the future (as you have here, Judge Charles L. Brown, the head of your national organization and the head of your city organization), I recommend right here from the experience of many years among the poor, that you put this into immediate actual appeal to the religious bodies of all kinds, and ask them as a matter of principle, to come out and help us do the work of the Lord. It is not they that say, "Lord, Lord," that come into the Kingdom, but they that do. "Get up and do something" is the thing that ought to be said to every member of every religious church: not only to pray, which is a good thing to do; not only to go and worship, which is also a good thing; but get out and do something. If there is any organization on the face of the earth that I think represents the religious feelings, sentiments, and truths of the religious people of the world, it certainly is this one. I cannot think of one that comes so close home to those of us who are professing religious people. Therefore, I say, I think we would all be glad to work with you if once the idea was pressed through. Of course it would take a long while to do that in Philadelphia, but you will get the idea through Philadelphia after a while if you keep dropping. The continual dropping of water will wear away the stone, and if you keep that before them and say to the religious people of Philadelphia, "Come right in, because we are doing your work," then they will see the point. They must see it very soon. I prophesy that in ten years every city and town in the State will approve of this movement which has been inaugurated here to such great advantage. A criminal will be regarded as a person to be reformed, a person to be lifted higher than he now is, and consequently all laws that are pro-

hibitive will only prohibit those things that tend to degrade humanity, to drag it down from that perfect ideal which the Lord has set before us. Believing myself that nature clearly teaches that we are going to find in the ages to come perfect men and women, absolutely perfect; believing that, as is taught now in all the churches of the world, I believe it is our duty to work with the spirit of God in any place where we can lift up man toward that great and beautiful ideal. Anyhow it seems that not only Nature's intuitions teach it, but the holy impulses of the human heart. Sin breeds enforced misery, sorrow, poverty. Let us pity them, and yet not pity them exclusively—as I say again, we need to be warned, not to so pity them, that we refuse to pity those who might be carried down by them if we did not protect society from them. But the great thought is ever before me, and I am glad to come and emphasize it, if it is in my power to do it, and tell you that I am sure that so far as my observation in the religious community is concerned, you will find that Jew and Gentile alike will all move toward this work when they once realize that the social service worker and the probation officer is the ideal laborer in the Kingdom of God.

Judge Brown: I knew that you would hear something that was well worth while. Doctor Conwell has the faculty of bringing things right home to you, making you as an individual realize your duty, your responsibility. He graphically tells you about Christ and his ministrations on earth, how Jesus called those wonderful men away from their fishing at Capernaum. They were not the college and educated men of the day. "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." That is the inspiration that he is trying to get into you and that we have been trying to get into you. Never be discouraged in your effort, and you will find, as you have found in the past, those of you who are

attached to the court, that the people to whom you go, recognizing the element of authority that you carry with you, will give a more gracious response, and you will be able to help them more quickly than otherwise you would.

We can say to Doctor Conwell that all these people work with the church. They try to get the church interested in the individual that they are endeavoring to help and try to bring about the contact that will help them. I know one of the things that I ask the boys that come before me is, "Do you go to Sunday-school?" And I am a little afraid our parents are not so insistent to-day about their boys and girls going to Sunday-school as they were when I was a boy. It was the Sunday-school in my life that produced whatever was in me. You have got to touch the heart, whether it be that of the boy or girl or the man or woman. That is a wonderful slogan that the Salvation Army has, "A man may be down but he never out." And how many have they saved? I have seen men that could hardly talk the English language without almost murdering it suddenly being converted, and what eloquent speakers they became in our churches, in our prayer meetings! Out of the wisdom of the heart the mouth speaketh, and those only that know God have wisdom in their hearts. It is not the mind but the sympathies of the heart that enable you to see where you can help; and as Doctor Conwell has so well said, there is nothing so profoundly interesting and productive in this world as being able and willing to help some one in distress.

It now gives me great pleasure to present to you the National Secretary of the Probation Association, Mr. Charles L. Chute.

THE
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
.. . OF PROBATION .. .

By Charles L. Chute
Secretary, National Probation Association

Mr. Chute: After the eloquent and fundamental statement of principles we have just listened to, my purpose is not to deliver an address, but briefly to point the moral, presenting some practical deductions and facts regarding probation and the social organization of the courts nationally.

I agree with all that Doctor Conwell has said except one thing, and that is on the difficulty or need of educating Philadelphia to the value of probation. If there is any more education necessary, it should not be difficult because of the demonstration which has been going on here in the Municipal Court of what well organized probation work can do. But of course there is always need to bring to the average man, to the people generally here and everywhere, just what is being done. We all know that it is a deplorable fact in our democracy that the public servant is elected or appointed and then left with little attention or encouragement from the people in his work. In the branch of public service which we are considering—probation, the social work of the courts—there is especial need for well directed publicity so as to promote the absolutely vital co-operation and support of the public.

The first moral I would draw from the address of Doctor Conwell is that if probation work and the organization of the courts for social work is so valuable, has accomplished so much, where it has been developed, why not extend it and carry it out everywhere throughout the country?

Let us consider a few facts regarding the development of this work. The first fact that is shown clearly is that the value of probation is being proved by its very remarkable spread throughout the country. Organized probation work has practically all developed during the past decade. To be exact,

before 1899 there was only one state in the whole country, namely Massachusetts, that had probation at all. At present every state in the union has a probation law and at least some probation work, although in thirteen states there is only juvenile probation. In all but two states there are juvenile courts. The domestic relations court, which has been so successful here in Philadelphia, is more recent and less developed. Only a few of the larger states have good domestic relations court work. Of course we believe that there should be probation work wherever there is a court. There should be juvenile court work wherever there are children to be cared for by public authority. Domestic relations or family courts are as important as juvenile courts to deal socially with intimate family problems which require great care.

We may become too optimistic. We may think that probation has extended to every state and therefore, there is nothing more to be done. But it does not take much observation to realize that the passing of a law is only the beginning of a work of this character. Many states have scarcely begun to develop organized probation work. In some states it is found only in a few large cities. Rural probation work is scarcely known though greatly needed. Few states have any effective state organization or supervision though this is beginning to be developed rapidly.

What then is our responsibility, the responsibility of the cities where good work has been built up, and where good results have been secured? It seems to me that we are directly responsible for giving information about our work and for aiding other communities that want to know about it and want to develop their own work.

This country has been called a melting pot of ideas as well as people, an experimental laboratory for all social legislation, because each individual state has gone ahead alone and developed a different set of laws and different systems of organization. Such is especially the case in this field of work. I

don't know why there is so much divergence, unless it is due to the fact that this work especially depends on laws for its initiation, and the development of legislation has been very different in the different states. At any rate the systems in the various states are very divergent. For instance, there is the state of Ohio which has well organized juvenile courts in every county, with jurisdiction up to the age of eighteen, with domestic relations courts doing splendid work in four counties, but outside of this almost no adult probation work.

Then there are the Southern states, backward in legislation and development in all fields of social work. In many states old ideas still prevail and children are still imprisoned and detained in contact with adult criminals. In other states the appointment of paid probation officers is seldom resorted to, practically all work of this character being carried on by volunteer agencies.

So we have the backward states, where very little social court work is done; we have great, progressive northern states, where only one side of the work has been developed; and we have no state, with the possible exception of Massachusetts, fully organized with probation work in all courts.

There should be a national system in probation work. We all know that the criminal problem, the delinquency problem, knows no state lines. Probation officers must get information from other states, must transfer cases and receive them from other states, and without this work established in these other states, this service cannot be performed. Offenders go from state to state, and thus escape supervision. This is particularly an evil in desertion and non-support cases. The man may cross a state line and get away entirely from the jurisdiction of the court, the family becoming a public charge. With a probation system all over the country this could not happen. The cases could be checked up and reached, and information secured from every locality.

It is hardly necessary to advance other reasons for the extension of probation nationally and for more uniformity in the various states. I will only refer briefly to one other matter: probation in the Federal Courts. The very courts which one would think ought to be best equipped, the United States Courts, have no probation work at all. One of the definite objects of the National Probation Association has been to get a good probation system established in the Federal Courts, not only because they need it, having many young offenders, even juvenile offenders, coming before them frequently, but because it would be a stimulus and an example to all the states to have the United States Congress enact a good probation law, and would aid probation in all the states.

I want to give you a sort of a report, because most of you are members of the association and are aiding in its development, outlining a few things that have been recently accomplished and others in contemplation by our organization. The National Probation Association, as you know, has among its members and in its Board of Directors many of the more progressive judges and leading probation workers of the country. Its membership is open to every one interested in this work. As a result it has grown until we have about eleven hundred members scattered throughout the country, each of them receiving literature and co-operating in the work the Association is carrying on. We are seeking to establish state organizations and local committees everywhere, and some very good beginnings have been made in this direction, especially in the states of Ohio and Kentucky, in the City of Baltimore, and in other places. We have formed contacts with state associations in the States of Illinois, California, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and other states.

Another object of the association is the establishment of state supervision and aid to probation and court work. A beginning has been made in Pennsylvania through the Department of Public Welfare and

it is greatly needed. As Secretary for over seven years of the New York State Probation Commission, I believe very strongly in state supervision. Without it the work, as in the state of Pennsylvania to-day may be strong in the few larger cities and not at all developed in the rural parts of the state. I think we all realize to-day that the need for this work is just as great, if not greater in proportion to the population, in the rural districts, in the town and villages all over this country, as in the cities because of the lack of other social agencies. In some states rural probation has been developed effectively, with probation officers working at large in several courts, securing the use of volunteer help, so that the probation system is available to every judge in a county, or district.

Some very definite things that the Association wants to do, are to raise the standard of the probation profession through providing education, definite courses of instruction, both for candidates for probation officers and for the probation officers themselves after they have begun the work. This work has been carried on in the Municipal Court of Philadelphia in connection with the School of Social Work. In most cities there is very little educational work done and little opportunity to secure trained officers is afforded. If this work is, as Doctor Conwell has said, so important, so responsible a mission, how important that there should be educational qualifications and experience qualifications for the officers coming into the work.

Good progress has been made in providing definite instruction for probation officers in a number of universities and special schools; in this the Association is aiding. Through committees we plan to take up during this coming year, with a certain number of universities and special schools, the putting in of new courses that will prepare for probation work, so that candidates can by taking these courses acquire the education they need. During the last year we have been in touch with several universities,

especially Chicago, Michigan and the Ohio State University as well as with the New York School of Social Work, to help plan out courses for putting probation work and methods directly into these courses, thus giving practical training to students who will afterwards become probation officers.

We are going to need more and better officers as the work extends. The demand for probation officers is increasing very rapidly. For instance, only a month ago there was a campaign carried on by the chief probation officer in Detroit and as a result there were created ten new positions in that city. That is happening all the time. New positions are being established where needed. I venture to say that not a single court, not even Philadelphia, though you come nearest to it, has an adequate number of officers to give the individual helpful, personal attention to the probation cases, which is the very essence of probation work. It is personal service and personal contact and knowledge of the probationer with thorough investigation of the cases for the court which will make the work successful and prove its value to the public. This kind of work cannot be expected from such overworked probation officers as we have in so many places.

There is the greatest need for standardizing. Down in the City of Baltimore, there are only fifteen probation officers in the whole city. They are all overworked. There are probation officers at work in Baltimore to-day that have over three hundred cases, supposedly under their supervision or on their books. The system is mere checking up, seeing them a few times during the probation period. It is not real probation work. That sort of thing hinders all probation work.

We have all probably had to discuss the crime wave during the last year or two. I have maintained that the crime wave, so far as it is a reality—and it has not meant a large increase in crime, but rather an increase of the more spectacular crimes of violence—I have maintained that it is due nowhere

to the use of probation or parole, or other modern methods, but rather to the lack of them. There has been just as much talk about the crime wave in cities with practically no adult probation, as there is in cities that have a complete development of probation. There is no connection except that it is rather a lack of such scientific methods as probation that has made possible crime wave. If we had had a complete equipment of social courts, if every delinquent that came to court for the first time were investigated, the causes of crime ascertained and the right treatment provided, there would not be this development of real criminals. Almost always these confirmed, professional criminals, in whom we cannot be very much interested because they are not subjects for probation, are found to have a record of repeated court appearances, usually repeated commitments to reformatories and prisons. Hence our courts and our reformatories are responsible and have failed in not giving the right treatment at the right time, thereby preventing crime.

We need more surveys of court work. We want to have more data available of the good work that has been done and be able to send this out to courts where they are just starting. Often new laws extending the system are put through. The judges, the probation officers just appointed in these places, want to know the best methods that have been employed. To do this they must write or apply somewhere for information. This they are doing constantly through the officers of the National Probation Association. To get the most effective results there must be an extension of this work into the places where special work and special campaigns are needed, to establish and develop probation work. This we have done in several cities and want to do to a greater extent, so that the system of probation may become national and cover the whole country.

We feel that the National Association can do a great service by acting as a sort of special employment bureau, not leaving to the general employment

bureaus the securing and placing of officers in this profession. We have on hand applications from courts for probation officers. We have many requests from probation officers who would like to change their positions or who are available for new work.

The publication of reports, proceedings of conferences and other literature have been valuable, and should be made more valuable. The Annual Conference has become an institution but we feel that one national conference is not sufficient, there should be regional conferences and special meetings, local meetings, to get together the people who are interested in this work locally for interchange of ideas and acquaintance.

The needs of the Association, in order to do all this, are for more members, and more support; with this we shall be able to carry on a larger work and serve the nation more effectively. In all this work we naturally appeal to Philadelphia, because Philadelphia has been especially interested in the National Association, and particularly this year, when the President of the Association, is your own Judge Brown. We do not feel that Philadelphia will be hard to interest in the broader field of extension and standardization of this service, which ought to reach into all the courts of the United States.

Judge Brown: I want to thank you for coming here to-day. It is now late in the afternoon and a good many of you want to finish your shopping. But I know you have enjoyed your visit here, and I want to thank Doctor Conwell again in your behalf for his wonderfully instructive talk to you and the encouragement he has given you; and I want to thank Mr. Chute. Of course, if something is good here, it ought to be extended all over the country, and it was my earnest thought that if anything could come out of the struggle in establishing this tribunal here, that was

worth while, that every big community throughout this country would demand its establishment there. We know that Doctor McCarthy, who was the representative of our government in the study of the prison camps in Germany before we went into this great last war, and who later went back to Petrograd as a representative of the government, had made a study of this tribunal. He sent me a report from Vancouver, and when he returned he said, "Those are big people over there in Russia. They have a social director in charge of the courts and he asked me about the courts in this country. I dictated to him the plan of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, and it is in operation in Petrograd to-day. Then I gave him a blueprint survey of our Medical Department. He said, 'Let me have that and I will put it over,' and the beauty of it is, it will be established at once."

Harking back from Petrograd, we had a committee from the Japanese Government that spent some days in our court, studying it, taking our reports and literature. Later we had a very wonderful communication from a high official, thanking us for our courtesy. We had the matter studied by a commission appointed by the Parliament in England, and a communication sent to us from different parts of England, from Birmingham, where they made a digest of our court work here, and sent it over for our correction, or additions or suggestions, in order that it may be put in operation in England. The whole world, as Doctor Conwell has told you, is awaking to the necessity of looking after our children, who are our governing people of the future. If we neglect them, and if we neglect the grown-up children—because that is all we are—we are doing an injury to the future of civilization, and if we neglect our homes and leave the women who fall out with their husbands to separate, the children are in danger if we would let them shift as they used to years ago, and give them no education. All forms of government in this world, even in the tribal

relationship, are built around the home, and I conceive, if we do not know what causes the separations, if we do not look into their physical defects, and hold those homes together, we are puncturing the structure of the government.

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